

Freedom

Anarchist Weekly 6d

MARCH 22 1969 Vol 30 No 9

Who is to Try Nixon for this Bombing Attempt?

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One should always pay attention to works of fantasy, since they reveal unconscious attitudes, and often show us the way things are going much more effectively than more logically worked-out theoretical writings.

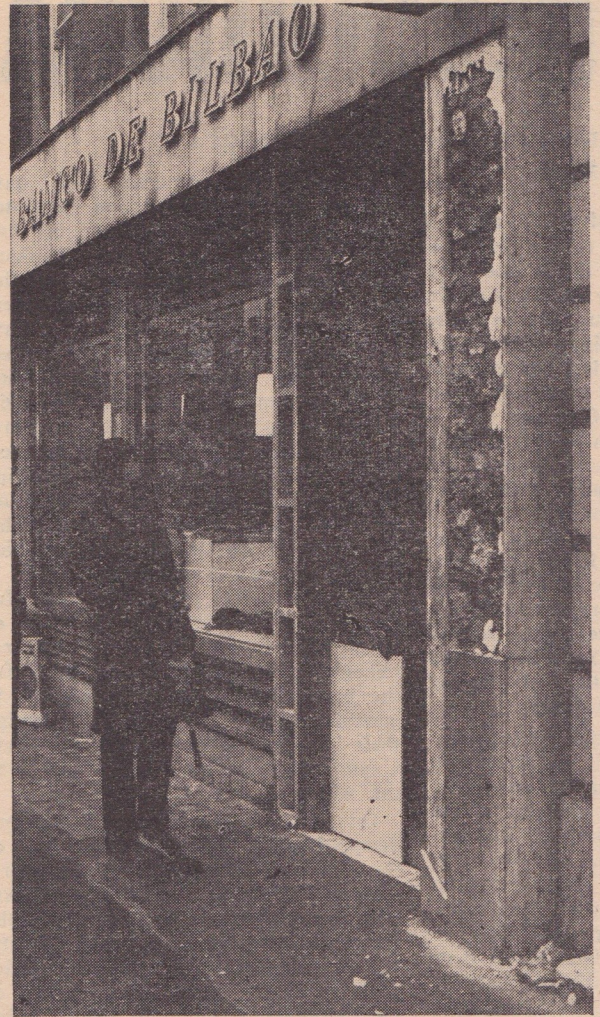
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fluctuates between the Nixon administration and the Senate, where opponents of the system claimed to be in the majority.

Sentinel was to have 15 installations, where as the new system (Safeguard it is called—without irony one supposes) is to have only two. It is the product of an attempt at a compromise with the powerful critics of the former system. These criticisms of course are pure power-political ones, not due to considerations of morality but merely of convenience—and of expense, one need hardly add.

The anti-nuclear protest movement seems to have come to accept nuclear weapons. The French and Chinese recently exploded hydrogen bombs, and no one, not even the militant students, seemed to pay any attention. The whole issue has been allowed to lapse. It is as well to remember that while the protest movement may turn its attention to other targets, authority does not rest in its continual work of preparing methods of destruction.

Nerve gas (MACE) has already been used against demonstrators. It is difficult to imagine how nuclear or germ weapons could be so used, without being prohibitively destructive, yet in time it may indeed come about. In the meantime we are still threatened with total annihilation, all the time Mr. Nixon's ARM system



Two Days after the Explosion

STATEMENT

ON SATURDAY, MARCH 15, there was an explosion in London. Alan Barlow and Philip Carver have been charged with the explosion of 1861. They have been remanded in custody to appear in court.

We believe that such acts are evoked in response to the repression of the workers and students, even then severe, became a disgrace for the Free Trade Unions, a body not noted for their progressive politics. The state of emergency 'provided for the protection of the state towards workers and trade unionists'.

The present estimate of political detainees is around 500. Even by January 29, only five days after the explosion, said that 'only 200 persons had been detained under the provisions of the Emergency Powers Act'. By February 4 the estimate was 500-600 and still climbing. The state resorted to rural exile in remote provinces—a solitary confinement in Greece. Present figures are quite frankly unknown, but three new political prisons at Jaen, Soria and Palencia.

As anarchists we can understand the frustration of the people who call upon ordinary people everywhere to resist tyranny and oppression.

LETTER FROM A RELUCTANT

WHEN PEOPLE leave school they are faced with the problem of finding a job. Scanning the papers in the hope of finding something suitable, they are confronted by pictures of smiling soldiers, sailors and airmen with tanks, ships and planes, with tales of travel, comradeship and good money. 'This person is 5' say the Government

realise that he had a bad schools system, vicious and repressive, he leaves training behind and goes to work in the capitalist system.

No wonder the National Service applicants for discharge are so high. But they are on their own.

SOME YEARS AGO a science fiction romance was published with the title *The Dragon in the Sea*. It tied with Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* for a literary prize in the field of fantasy fiction. It describes a hypothetical future war between the United States and the powers of the East, in which submarines play an important role. While steering their course past the large radioactive sandbank that is all that is left of the British Isles, one of the characters comments on what a pity the destruction of British civilisation was. He consoles himself with the reflection that it was a static and tradition-bound culture, and therefore on the way to death anyway. So, not to worry. All is for the best possible in the best possible of worlds (the author was an American).

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Mr. McNamara's Defence Policy statement (September 18, 1967) put forward the plan of a 'thin' anti-ballistic missile system against China. This was, however, not acceptable to others of the American ruling clique, and McNamara resigned. Now, however, the policy has been revived by President Nixon. This system apparently would involve the defence of bases, not cities. It is now recognised that the effective defence of population centres is impossible. Such a defence system, if constructed to deal with attacks from the direction of the Soviet Union, would put Britain right in the fall-out area. Presumably the anti-missiles would meet the missiles on their way over the Atlantic, and explode them there.

The British Government has already recognised the impossibility of defending cities, but I doubt if anybody nowadays takes Britain's forces any more seriously than they take the Papal Guard, or the army of Monaco. It will make very little difference in practice whether Britain defends her bases or her cities. A single hydrogen bomb would so disrupt the economy of such a tiny country that it would be out of the war henceforward. It would not matter (militarily speaking) where it landed.

The new system will begin with only two installations. They will be placed around offensive missile bases in remote parts of Montana and North Dakota. It is not likely, however, that this will be all. In fact such systems tend to grow and proliferate.

Mr. Hubert Humphrey, the former vice-president, opposed the preceding anti-missile system (known as Sentinel). The dispute over this system was one of the first big con-

flicts between the Nixon administration and the Senate, where opponents of the system claimed to be in the majority.

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Nerve gas (MACE) has already been used against demonstrators. It is difficult to imagine how nuclear or germ weapons could be so used, without being prohibitively destructive, yet in time it may indeed come about. In the meantime we are still threatened with total annihilation, all the time. Mr. Nixon's ABM system will serve merely to step up the intensity of the arms race. One can imagine that the Soviet Union will have to extend its own similar system which it has round Moscow, if only for reasons of prestige. Dr. John Foster, the Pentagon's Director of Defence Research, said, 'In each case it seems to me that the Soviet Union is following the United States' lead, and that the United States is not reacting to the Soviet activities.'

One can also picture how an anti-missile would call forth an anti-missile missile, as an 'escort' to the original missile. And this in turn could lead to an anti-missile missile missile, and so on forever, to the very great profit of the manufacturers.

An attack by the Chinese on the United States is almost as far-fetched as the idea of an attack by Biafra upon Britain. China is still so far behind technologically, and is torn by a sort of semi-civil war, and is now getting involved in border disputes with Russia, that such a thing is absurd. But, absurd or not, it is very profitable to the makers of the rockets, and they are powerful, and so no doubt they will get their way.

A.W.U.

WE GO TO PRESS ON MONDAY. LATEST DATE FOR RECEIPT OF MSS., LETTERS, MEETING NOTICES IS THE MONDAY IN EACH WEEK OF PUBLICATION.

STATEMENT

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After reading all this propaganda, the unsuspecting school-leaver (who has spent the earlier period of his life in a repressive schools system, where he had no say in what was happening, no responsibility, all he had to do was learn facts and churn out tailor-made answers) thinks to himself: 'At last a chance to really do something.' So, after writing off to the service he has chosen and having received a glossy propaganda pamphlet, he is ready for his trip to the recruiting office. Off he toddles for his medical and an arithmetic and English test followed by a lengthy interview.

Our new recruit will shortly find himself in a training establishment where most of his time will be spent learning how to polish shoes, press his kit, march, use a rifle, physical instruction and attend lectures about the marvellous life he has chosen for himself. He will only be allowed out of the establishment once or twice a week (to show off his uniform and his free haircut). He will have to queue for everything and call the majority of people 'sir'. He will have to polish dustbins and scrub out lavatories and he will learn the trade he has chosen. He will have to learn his position in life and he will be servile. And if he has got time to think, he will realise that the glossy magazines and advertisements did not tell him everything about the life in the armed forces. He will also

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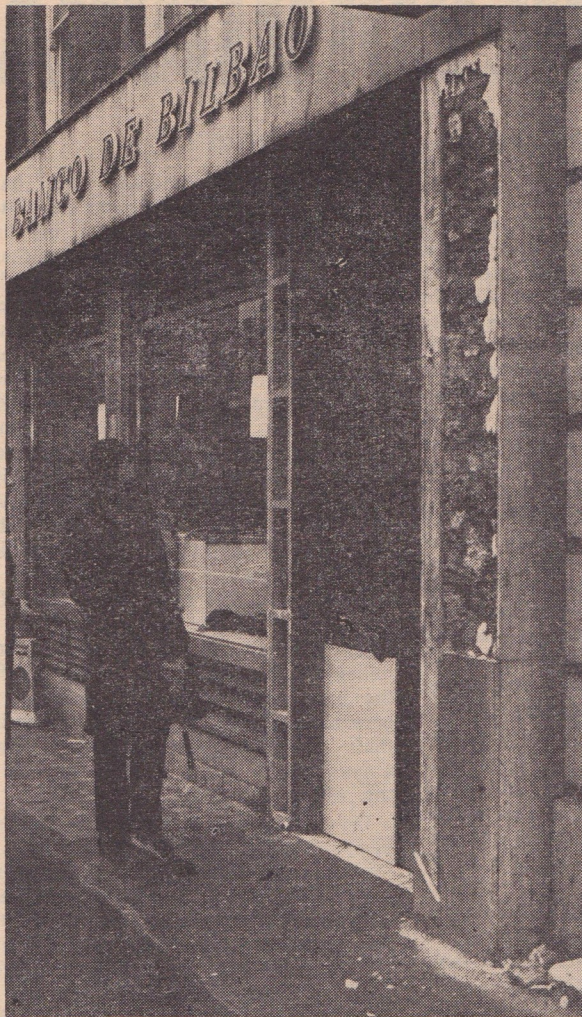
He is now serving Crumlin Jail, Belfast fines and motor tax disobedience. Letters

PD 'politicians' Be Mike Farrell have a Mid Ulster, for a s Their reason—the 'system is a complete

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The future program March 22, Ulster

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Two Days after the Explosion

Blasted Spanish Bank

Photo by Serena Wadham

STATEMENT BY THE LFA

ON SATURDAY, MARCH 15, there was an explosion at the Bank of Bilbao in King Street, Covent Garden, London. Alan Barlow and Philip Carver have been charged under Section 9 of the Malicious Damage Act of 1861. They have been remanded in custody to appear at Bow Street Magistrates' Court on March 25.

We believe that such acts are evoked in response to violent repression of workers and students in Spain. Since the Franco Government lost its nerve on January 24 and passed the emergency laws, the repression of the workers and students, even then severe, became a disgrace to Europe. Even the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, a body not noted for their progressive views, condemned Spain for 'continuously and flagrantly violating human rights'. The state of emergency 'provided the regime with the means to intensify repression towards workers and trade unionists'.

The present estimate of political detainees is around 900, known mainly for the North; no figures are known for the South. Even by January 29, only five days after the law was passed, Spanish Government officials said that 'only 200 persons had been detained under the emergency regulations'. Not bad for five days. By February 4 the estimate was 500-600 and still climbing. Unable to pack enough in the overflowing jails, the police resorted to rural exile in remote provinces—a solitary confinement similar to that imposed on Theodorakis in Greece. Present figures are quite frankly unknown, but obviously increasing and necessitated the opening of three new political prisons at Jaen, Soria and Palencia.

As anarchists we can understand the frustration that people feel about the repressive regime in Spain. We call upon ordinary people everywhere to resist tyranny and repression not only in Spain, but the whole world over.

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No wonder the NCCL have so many applicants for discharge from the Armed Forces. But they cannot achieve much

at the age of eighteen.

2. That the period of engagement be reduced to four years.

This is just a start, of course there are many other reforms needed within the services. There are many MPs who support similar issues, but a lot of people are unaware or don't care. Our

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realise that he had graduated from one bad schools system into another more vicious and repressive system. When he leaves training he will be yet another cog in the capitalist machinery of war.

No wonder the NCCL have so many applicants for discharge from the Armed Forces. But they cannot achieve much on their own. There are thousands of people that the military authorities won't allow to leave. These people feel completely frustrated in this helpless state they are left in. But, you ask, 'what can be done?' Well, this question is being asked at the moment, and I think as a start to changing this gross denial of human rights the following two points should be demanded:

1. That people joining the forces at fifteen be given the option of leaving

at the age of eighteen.

2. That the period of engagement be reduced to four years.

This is just a start, of course there are many other reforms needed within the services. There are many MPs who support similar issues, but a lot of people are unaware or don't care. Our job should be to make them aware and make them feel for the unfortunate people who find themselves in this situation. Action by a large number of people is being planned at the moment by many groups of various tendencies. Under the banner of this humanitarian cause, we can all unite and fight this system that has our comrades in the Armed Forces in a brutal stranglehold.

ANON.

P.D. ACTIVITIES

EDDIE WIEGLEB, who was the PD candidate for Cromac, organised the squatting of a family in a Housing Trust on Wednesday. He met the family while campaigning. They were living 13 in one room. The family was immediately rehoused.

On Thursday he led a march of 50 people, all residents of the Cromac area, protesting about the housing. It took place in driving rain, and ended up at the City Hall.

He is now serving three months in Crumlin Jail, Belfast, for non-payment of fines and motor taxes. The reason—civil disobedience. Letters would be welcome.

PD 'politicians' Bernadette Devlin and Mike Farrell have refused to stand for Mid Ulster, for a seat at Westminster. Their reason—the 'whole Parliamentary system is a complete farce'.

In Armagh Cyril Torenman and others burnt the Public Order Amendment Act before an ecstatic crowd of 100 people in the Town Hall.

The future programme will be:—

March 22, Ulster Civil Disobedience

Day;

March 29, March to Stormont to protest against the Public Order Amendment Act. This is quite likely to be banned.

The Civil Rights Association has backed the march, but there has been a split. Four reactionaries have resigned from the committee, including an aged Stalinist called Betty Sinclair. PD has only two members on the committee.

At Easter there will be a march to Dublin. It will start on Good Friday morning. Those interested please contact Reg Broad, 01-603 0550.

SCOTTISH EDITION Out on May 31

Comrades wanted for selling and distribution.
Contact Freedom Press.

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Telephone: BISHopsgate 3015.

New temporary address:
84a WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET,
c/o Express Printers,
(entrance Angel Alley),
WHITECHAPEL, E.1.
(Underground: Aldgate East. Exit:
Whitechapel Art Gallery. Turn right
on emerging from station.)

Temporary opening times:
Tuesday-Friday, 2-6 p.m.
Saturday, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.

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ANARCHY
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FREEDOM
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Subscription Rates

HOW REVOLUTIONARY?

NEW REVOLUTIONARIES. Edited by
Tariq Ali. (Peter Owen, 38s.)

TARIQ ALI IS PROBABLY quite a nice fellow, and it isn't entirely his fault that he has been thrust into such ludicrous prominence by the mass media during the last four years, but he really does seem to make things difficult for himself. His new book is a bad example of a phenomenon which is already widespread in France and Germany and is becoming more common in this country and the United States—a volume of extreme left-wing propaganda written for fat fees and published for fat profits in a capitalist market where a large section of readers happen to be involved in or at least interested in the extreme left. This particular example gathers seventeen contributors apart from the editor, several of whose names (like his) will help to sell the book, even if what they have to say is scarcely relevant to its theme.

Without being sectarian, it is necessary to get clear from the start that Tariq Ali is a member of the International Marxist Group, and that unlike some so-called Trotskyists he still admires Trotsky. 'Of late,' he tells us in his preface, 'a spectre has begun to haunt the communist parties of Europe: Leon Trotsky.' This remark may be about 40 years out of date, but it does explain some of the book's peculiarities. 'A streak of Trotskyism, therefore, runs through this volume,' he adds, because 'its validity as a political credo has stood the test of time' (this although almost everything Trotsky said has been disproved). But at least these remarks—and the book's subtitle 'Left Opposition'—give us fair warning of what to expect.

In fact much of *New Revolutionaries* has little to do with Trotsky or Trotskyism. From Latin America, we have Regis Debray's defence speech at the Camiri trial, which is worth reading but has already been printed dozens of times; Fidel Castro's speech in memory of Che Guevara, which isn't worth reading and has also been printed dozens of times; and Inti Peredo's defiant statement, as Guevara's successor in Bolivia, that 'we will return to the mountains: victory or death!', which again has been printed dozens of times. It would surely have been better to get a fresh contribution looking at the revolutionary situation in Latin America as a whole than to re-print these important but by now familiar texts.

NORTH AMERICA

From North America, we have Eldridge Cleaver's description (reprinted from *Ramparts* magazine) of his first encounter with the Black Panthers, which confirms the impression of his book *Soul on Ice* that both his ideas and the language he puts them in have been considerably overrated; and Stokely Carmichael's speech to the Organisation of Latin American Solidarity in 1967, which is as well expressed as always but is unpleasantly racist in its references to 'anglo' (i.e. English-speaking white) society and is also oddly bitter about the old non-violent civil rights movement in the United States in which he played such a significant part. It is possible to feel much admiration for the courage of the Black Panthers, of which Cleaver and Carmichael are prominent figures, and much sympathy for the predicament of militant negroes in general, without necessarily accepting their present posture which is surely a symptom of rather than an answer to the white oppression.

On Asia, we have Charlotte Nassim's disappointingly superficial account of the Japanese Zengakuren, which she predicts will become increasingly militant with the approach of the renewal of the Japanese-American Security Treaty, which is due next year; Malcolm Caldwell's typically informative account of the Indonesian Communist Party's swing to Maoist militancy following the right-wing massacres of 1965-1966; and Bill Luckin's extremely interesting account of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, partly based on his own observation while teaching in Shanghai.

AFRICA

On Africa we have Chenhamo Chimutengwende on the black struggle in the south of the continent. He shows that the policies of South Africa, Portuguese Africa and Southern Rhodesia are essentially identical even if they differ in detail, that Smith's UDI was irrelevant to the real problems, that Britain would probably intervene on the side of the whites if the guerrilla threat became serious, and that the emancipation of the blacks is the task of the blacks themselves. He tells the story of the black resistance movements, stressing the turn to violence in the mid-1960s; it is a depressing story, told with authority by a former guerilla fighter, but it is difficult to believe that the present violent phase will be any more successful

than the previous even if the guerilla revolutionaries' ideology' (which)

MIDDLE EAST

We reach real come to the Middle i.e. Ygal Glucks skyist writer and national Socialism genuine revolution This is fine on the unfortunately so Jewish socialists) makes on the A quite overshadow Israel, and at tim to be completely Day War in 1967 never threatened Zionist and in claimed)—total a and Britain we marched in if th invaded even a Tell that to pe family memories at total annihila believed until th previous underta were betrayed! be Zionist or eve the well-founded well as the well- the Arabs they ha be easier to echo only possible sol the Middle East peasants' revolu establishment of with full rights fo national minoritie like the Bolshevik ago.

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Anarchist Federation of Britain

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. All correspondence to LFA, c/o Freedom Press, Sunday evening meetings at the 'Metropolitan' (corner of Clerkenwell Road and Farringdon Road), 7.30 p.m. Next meeting Sunday, March 23.
EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Lindsay Wither, 19 Aylmer Road, Shepherds Bush, W.12, ville Park, Lewisham, London, S.E.13. Phone: 01-852 8879.

LAVENDER HILL MOB. Contact C. Broad, 116 Tyneham Road, S.W.11 (228 4086).

MALATESTA GROUP. Contact Reg Broad, 5 Welbeck Court, Addison Bridge Place, W.14. 603 0550.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.
REDDITCH ANARCHISTS AND LIBERTARIANS. Contact Dave Lloyd, 37 Feckenham Road, Headless Cross, Redditch, Worcs.

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Peter Newell (see N.E.

CRAWLEY ANAR Richard Ashwell, 87 Green, Crawley, Sussex
SUSSEX UNIVERS (see details under Str

YORKSHIRE F

Meetings every 8 w Secretary: Colin Be Cliffe-cum-Lund, Selth 'Liberty!'

HALIFAX: David St Essex Street, Parkins

HARROGATE. Con Parade, Harrogate.

HULL: Jim Young, thorn Avenue, Hull.

KEIGHLEY: Steve

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'A streak of Trotskyism, therefore, runs through this volume,' he adds, because 'its validity as a political credo has stood the test of time' (this although almost everything Trotsky said has been disproved). But at least these remarks—and the book's subtitle 'Left Opposition'—give us fair warning of what to expect.

In fact much of *New Revolutionaries* has little to do with Trotsky or Trotskyism. From Latin America, we have Regis Debray's defence speech at the Camiri trial, which is worth reading but has already been printed dozens of times; Fidel Castro's speech in memory of Che Guevara, which isn't worth reading and has also been printed dozens of times; and Inti Peredo's defiant statement, as Guevara's successor in Bolivia, that 'we will return to the mountains: victory or death!', which again has been printed dozens of times. It would surely have been better to get a fresh contribution looking at the revolutionary situation in Latin America as a whole than to re-print these important but by now familiar texts.

well's typically informative account of the Indonesian Communist Party's swing to Maoist militancy following the right-wing massacres of 1965-1966; and Bill Luckin's extremely interesting account of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, partly based on his own observation while teaching in Shanghai.

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Anarchist Federation of Britain

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BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary, Peter Le Mare, 22 Hallowell Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham, 16. Libertarian discussion groups held 8 p.m. on each Tuesday at 'The Crown', Corporation Street (Opp. Law Courts), Birmingham City. S.a.c. to Secretary for details.

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Regular weekly meetings. Contact Secretary for venue.

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NORTH AMERICA

From North America, we have Eldridge Cleaver's description (reprinted from *Ramparts* magazine) of his first encounter with the Black Panthers, which confirms the impression of his book *Soul on Ice* that both his ideas and the language he puts them in have been considerably overrated; and Stokely Carmichael's speech to the Organisation of Latin American Solidarity in 1967, which is as well expressed as always but is unpleasantly racist in its references to 'anglo' (i.e. English-speaking white) society and is also oddly bitter about the old non-violent civil rights movement in the United States in which he played such a significant part. It is possible to feel much admiration for the courage of the Black Panthers, of which Cleaver and Carmichael are prominent figures, and much sympathy for the predicament of militant negroes in general, without necessarily accepting their present posture which is surely a symptom of rather than an answer to the white oppression.

On Asia, we have Charlotte Nassim's disappointingly superficial account of the Japanese Zengakuren, which she predicts will become increasingly militant with the approach of the renewal of the Japanese-American Security Treaty, which is due next year; Malcolm Caldwell's typically informative account of the Indonesian Communist Party's swing to Maoist militancy following the right-wing massacres of 1965-1966; and Bill Luckin's extremely interesting account of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, partly based on his own observation while teaching in Shanghai.

AFRICA

On Africa we have Chenhamo Chimutengwende on the black struggle in the south of the continent. He shows that the policies of South Africa, Portuguese Africa and Southern Rhodesia are essentially identical even if they differ in detail, that Smith's UDI was irrelevant to the real problems, that Britain would probably intervene on the side of the whites if the guerrilla threat became serious, and that the emancipation of the blacks is the task of the blacks themselves. He tells the story of the black resistance movements, stressing the turn to violence in the mid-1960s; it is a depressing story, told with authority by a former guerilla fighter, but it is difficult to believe that the present violent phase will be any more successful

than the previous non-violent phase, even if the guerrillas do become 'true revolutionaries with a correct political ideology' (whichever one it is).

MIDDLE EAST

We reach real Trotskyism when we come to the Middle East. Tony Cliff—i.e. Ygael Gluckstein, the prolific Trotskyist writer and leader of the International Socialism group—calls for a genuine revolution in the Arab world. This is fine on the face of it, but he is unfortunately so anti-Zionist (like many Jewish socialists) that the attacks he makes on the Arab governments are quite overshadowed by his assault on Israel, and at times his judgement seems to be completely clouded. Of the Six Day War in 1967, he says: 'One thing never threatened Israel (whatever Arab Zionist and imperialist propaganda claimed)—total annihilation. The US and Britain would certainly have marched in if the Egyptian Army had invaded even a few miles into Israel.' Tell that to people who have vivid family memories of previous attempts at total annihilation which were disbelieved until they happened, and of previous undertakings to help which were betrayed! It is not necessary to be Zionist or even Jewish to appreciate the well-founded fears of the Israelis as well as the well-founded grievances of the Arabs they have displaced. It would be easier to echo the conclusion—'The only possible solution to the needs of the Middle East is the workers' and peasants' revolution aimed at the establishment of a socialist republic, with full rights for Jews, Kurds and all national minorities'—if it didn't sound so like the Bolshevik slogans of fifty years ago.

The coverage of Europe is very uneven. The chapters on France and Czechoslovakia are both by Pierre Frank, the French Trotskyist leader. The one on France, called 'From a Student Upheaval towards a Proletarian Socialist Revolution', is an article presumably written in the middle of May last year, since it mentions the general strike which began on May 13 but not the factory occupations which began on May 14. It is strictly Trotskyist, calling above all for 'the construction of a mass-revolutionary Marxist party' to lead the left. There are some nice little touches of Marxist sectarianism—Frank quotes the Communist attack on 'the German Cohn-Bendit', forgetting that the actual phrase was 'the German

anarchist Cohn-Bendit', and he describes the anarchist march on the Elysee on May 13 as 'utopian and adventuresome [?adventurist]'. The chapter on Czechoslovakia is another article presumably written at the end of August last year, since it mentions the Russian invasion of August 21 as a very recent event. It is also strictly Trotskyist, and hopes that the Czech events will mark 'the beginning of a forceful renewal of the communist movement'. It would surely have been better to get fresh contributions looking at recent events in France and Czechoslovakia in perspective than to resurrect these rather dated and sectarian articles.

POLAND

The chapter on Poland is a long extract from the *Open Letter to the Party* of Jacek Kuron and Karel Modzelewski. This is an interesting and courageous statement of libertarian Marxism by two student leaders who have spent several years in Gomulka's jails for writing it, but it is odd to print part of it in a book when the whole of it has been published as a cheap pamphlet by International Socialism.

ITALY

The chapter on Italy is a painstaking and involved analysis of the student movement by Vittorio Rieser, a Turin leader, which is hardly worth printing.

GERMANY

The chapter on—or rather, from—Germany is 'Prophylactic Notes for the Self-Indictment of the Accused' by Fritz Teufel, the so-called Maoist leader in the Berlin SDS. It consists of his idiosyncratic defence speech at the trial last year in which he was accused (and acquitted) of causing a breach of the peace during the Shah's visit in June, 1967 (translated from the German paper *Die Andere Zeitung*). It is very funny and occasionally very intelligent. On violence, he says: 'It is necessary to distinguish in principle between, on the one hand, violence serving oppression and, on the other, violence serving liberation. . . . It is no accident that the same politicians and newspapers which applaud the genocide practised in Vietnam talk of terror when, in Berlin, a tomato is squashed against the wall of the manipulated consciousness.' He adds: 'But . . . to throw stones and dynamite in the fashion of the Russian anarchists of the nineteenth century would be senseless manifestations of

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HALIFAX: David Stringer, c/o Paul Simon, 91 Essex Street, Parkinson Lane, Halifax.

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Secretary', Felix Phillips, 6 Draycott Street,
Manchester, 10.

Regular weekly meetings. Contact Secretary for
venue.

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHISTS. Meetings every
Tuesday at 8 p.m. at 118 High Park Street, Liver-
pool 8. Contact: Chris Kneath, Basement, 52
Belvidere Road, Liverpool, L8 3TQ.

PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact J. B.
Cowburn, 140 Watling Street Road, Fulwood,
Preston. Meetings: 'The Wellington Hotel',
Glovers Court, Preston. Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

SURREY FEDERATION

G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom, Surrey.
Groups and individuals invited to associate.

SUSSEX FEDERATION

Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o
Eddie Poole, 5 Tilsbury, Findon Road, White-
hawk, Brighton.

BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP.
Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road,
Brighton, BN1 3HN. Regular fortnightly meetings.
Contact Secretary.

CRAWLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact
Richard Ashwell, 87 Buckswood Drive, Gossops
Green, Crawley, Sussex.

SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP
(see details under Student Groups).

YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

Meetings every 8 weeks. Next meeting April 4.
Secretary: Colin Beadle, c/o Oakwood Farm,
Cliffe-cum-Lund, Selby, Yorkshire. Look out for
'Liberty!'

HALIFAX: David Stringer, c/o Paul Simon, 91
Essex Street, Parkinson Lane, Halifax.

HARROGATE. Contact David Howes, 16 Park
Parade, Harrogate.

HULL: Jim Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Haw-
thorn Avenue, Hull.

KEIGHLEY: Steve Wood, 26B Cavendish Street,
Keighley.

LEEDS: Direct Action Society. Contact John
Boutwood, 142 Brudenell Road, Leeds, 6.

SELBY. Contact Colin Beadle (address above).
Regular activities, 'Freedom' sales.

SHEFFIELD: Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union,
Western Bank, Sheffield, 10.

YORK: C/o Students' Representative Council,
Goodricke College, University of York, Hesling-
ton, York.

WELSH FEDERATION

ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHISTS. Contact Steve
Mills, 4 St. Michael's Place, Abergystwyth, Cardi-
ganshire, Wales.

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All cor-
respondence to:—Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street,
Splott, Cardiff.

SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact
Ian Bone, 22 Glanmor Road, Uplands, Swansea.
Weekly meetings, 'Freedom' sales and action
projects.

LLANELLI: Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llwuynndy
Road, Llanelli, Carm. Tel: Llanelli 2548.

EAST LONDON

LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION

Support wanted for numerous activities in area.
Secretary: Anthony Matthews, 35 Mayville Road,
London, E.11. Meetings fortnightly on Sundays
at Ron Bailey's, 128 Hainault Road, E.11 (LEY
8059). Ten minutes from Leytonstone Under-
ground.

Active groups in: LEYTONSTONE, STEPNEY,
NEWHAM, ILFORD, DAGENHAM, WOOD-
FORD and LIMEHOUSE.

STUDENT GROUPS

ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY GROUP. C/o Ian
and Peggy Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aber-
deen, AB2 4SL.

**CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST
GROUP.** Contact Matthew Robertson, Trinity
CARDIFF UNIVERSITY LIBERTARIAN/ANAR-
CHIST GROUP. Contact Chris Short, UWIST
Union, Cathays Park, or Chas. Ball, UCC Union,
Dumfries Place.

College, or John Fullerton, Jesus College.
SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP.
John Byford, 26 Bedford Square, Brighton, Sussex.
Meetings every second Thursday jointly with
Brighton Group; bookstall every Monday outside
J.C.R., 12-2.30 p.m.

YORK UNIVERSITY. Contact Nigel Wilson,
Derwent College, University of York, Heslington,
York.

EAST ANGLIA UNIVERSITY. Contact Dave
Lomax, E.A.S. II, U.E.A., Norwich, NOR 88C.
LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS FEDERATION.
Contact address: Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead,
Harlow.

LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST

GROUP. Contact us at the bookstall in the Stu-
dents Union Foyer every Friday lunchtime.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Francis
Casline, Pembroke College, or Steve Watts,
Trinity College.

MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY. Contact Mike
Don or Bill Jamieson, c/o University Union,
Oxford Road, Manchester, 13.

SOUTHAMPTON UNIVERSITY Revolutionary
Anarchist Federation. Contact Student Union
Bookstall lunchtimes on Tuesday and Friday.

LSE ANARCHIST GROUP. C/o Students' Union,
LSE, Houghton Street, W.C.2. Read and sell
'Beaver'.

KINGSTON COLLEGE of Technology, Penhryn
Road, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey. Contact
G. Wright.

MANCHESTER COLLEGE of Commerce. Con-
tact Kevin Hill, c/o Students' Union, College of
Commerce, Aytoun Street, Manchester, 1.

SCOTTISH FEDERATION

All correspondence to Bobby Lynn, Secretary, 12
Ross Street, Glasgow, S.E.

ABERDEEN ANARCHIST GROUP. Bob Comrie,
288 Hargate.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Lynn,
12 Ross Street, S.E.

EDINBURGH. Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Angle
Park Terrace, Edinburgh 11.

**HAMILTON AND DISTRICT ANARCHIST
GROUP.** Robert Linton, 7a Station Road, New
Stevenson, Motherwell.

FIFE. Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden
Park, Stratheden Hospital, By Cupar.

MONTROSE. Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace,
Ferryden, Montrose, Angus.

NORTHERN IRELAND

BELFAST ANARCHIST GROUP. Meetings every
Saturday, 2 p.m., 44a Upper Arthur Street (top
floor). 'Freedom' sales.

SOUTHERN IRELAND

**ALLIANCE OF LIBERTARIAN AND ANAR-
CHIST GROUPS IN IRELAND.** Please send all
communications with stamped envelope to The
Secretary, c/o Freedom Press.

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anar-
chists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South, NSW 2000.
Phone No. 69-8095. Open discussion and litera-
ture sale in the Domain—Sunday, 2 p.m. Call at
59 Eveleigh Street, Redfern, NSW 2015 for per-
sonal discourse, tea and overnight accommodation.

BELGIUM. Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220
rue Vivignis, Liège.

USA. James W. Cain, secretary, the Anarchist
Committee of Correspondence, 323 Fourth Street,
Cloquet, Minnesota 55720, USA.

**TORONTO LIBERTARIAN - ANARCHIST
GROUP.** 217 TorYork Drive, Weston, Ontario,
Canada. Weekly meetings. Read the 'Libertar-
ian'. Third issue now out and it was well worth
waiting for!

PROPOSED GROUPS

CHELTENHAM. Please contact Bernie Cherry,
16 Clarence Square, Cheltenham, Glos.

LONDON, S.W.17. Tooting, Wandsworth, Stre-
atham. Phone B.R.I. 872 8494.

NEWCASTLE/WHITLEY BAY. Anyone willing
please contact Peter D. Ridley, 4 Rockcliffe
Gardens, Whitley Bay, Northumberland. Tel.:
Whitley Bay 25759.

READING. Libertarian and Anarchist group
would like to contact fellow anarchists in the dis-
trict and in the university. C/o 57 Kiln Ride,
Wokingham, Berkshire.

HOW REVOLUTIONARY?

Continued from page 3
powerlessness.' (May we add that the Russian terrorists of the nineteenth century were not anarchists?) Instead, he favours 'objects suitable for demonstration purposes (that means objects incapable of inflicting injury), such as eggs, tomatoes and smoke-bombs'. Teufel is lots of fun, but it might really have been better to have something more serious and more informative about the German movement—say from Rudi Dutschke, whose writings are a long time coming to this country.

GENERAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Then there are two more general contributions. One is a speech given in Paris at the beginning of the 'events' last year by Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Trotskyist leader (and reprinted from *Black Dwarf*). He calls the students 'the new vanguard', defining them as an exploited class within Marxist terms, their intellectual labour being alienated and expropriated by the ruling class, their rebellion a potentially revolutionary act, and their social position a particularly advantageous base in which to become the 'detonator' of a real revolution. This is an interesting and useful thesis, familiar on the extreme left nowadays, and it is well argued; Mandel is much more convincing than Frank. It is also refreshing to find a reference to 'our friend Danny Cohn-Bendit', who is defended against Communist attack without any condescension, and also to find an approving passage about the antisectarian organisation of the March 22 Movement.

It is only at the end that we hear the old Adam—or rather, Leon—in the statement that 'we are on the side of the Soviet Union and the "socialist camp" in any confrontation with imperialism or the bourgeoisie'; in the invocation of 'real soviet democracy, which can only be a democracy of councils, a democracy based on workers, students and poor peasant councils as Lenin taught us' (in fact Lenin took a leading part in the subjection of the soviets to the Bolshevik Government, with Trotsky's help); in the call to 'transform today's vanguard into a mighty revolutionary party'; and in the

ominous promise that 'we will complete the great work begun fifty years ago by the October Revolution'.

The other general contribution is a chapter called 'Towards an Extra-Parliamentary Opposition' by Tom Fawthrop, the Hull student who tore up his examination papers and then led a sit-in there last summer. It is in fact a libertarian Marxist argument for what used to be called 'council communism'—a form of communism tending towards syndicalism or populism based on workers' councils or soviets—which he rightly sees developing in the current socialist movement. It is a good argument, but it suffers from ignorance over several details. For example, he says that 'the independence and spontaneity of the movement, its total lack of subservience to any manipulative ideology—Russian or Western Capitalist—provoke the politically illiterate into indignant cries of "Anarchy"'. A footnote explains that 'of course there are anarchists among the revolutionary groups, just as there are a variety of other radical views represented, but "anarchy" is, to say the least, an inadequate description of what is being urged.' Yes, but is it really 'politically illiterate' to use the word 'anarchy'? It may not be a complete description, but is it actually inaccurate? Aren't there obvious anarchic tendencies in the current movement?

He goes on to say that 'the movement is inspired by men such as Marcuse, Che, Trotsky, Mao and others'. It? I would guess that this is true only of extreme academics who must have texts to discuss or of extreme sectarians who must have authorities to follow. Fawthrop himself is a Marxist of a flexible and inquiring kind, and his defence of socialist freedom is welcome. But he is also naive and inexperienced, and he feels he must identify council communism with Marxist communism. He describes the Paris Commune as 'the first attempt at the practice of Marxism', which is nonsense; Marx (and later Lenin) defended it, but the Communards were not Marxists, it was not what Marx had previously advocated, or what Lenin subsequently established. He calls the soviet 'the basic political

organ of any future socialist government', which is also nonsense; it may be the political unit of a future socialist society, but no government can tolerate the rivalry of real soviet power. He remarks in a footnote that 'the self-governing function of the Soviets in Russia was destroyed in the course of the civil war in 1918 and never restored', which is again nonsense; it was destroyed by the Bolshevik government before the war began. He insists that 'Soviets have never yet failed as a result of any supposed weakness in the idea', but only as a result of counter-revolutionary attack, and he is absolutely right; but he plays down the essential point that this attack has come as much from the Marxist left as from the capitalist right (Russia, Spain, China, Hungary, Czechoslovakia). His conclusion—'When that revolution comes, let us remember the ironical experience of the Bolsheviks and let us hope that we, unlike them, are able to keep pace with the political consciousness of the workers'—fails to understand that the Bolsheviks did not ironically lag behind the workers but deliberately set up a dictatorship over them; that, while syndicalism possibly need not be anarchist, it certainly cannot be Marxist or Leninist (or Trotskyist). It might be better if 'anarchy' were an adequate description of what is being urged in the movement!

THE GENERAL HIMSELF

Finally we come to Tariq Ali himself. Apart from the preface, he contributes a chapter on 'The Extra-Parliamentary Opposition' and a conclusion on 'The Age of Permanent Revolution'. Both are deeply disappointing, and it is hard to believe they are written by someone who studied politics at Oxford. In his account of the anti-war movement he distorts its history by leaving out the work of the direct action and civil disobedience organisations altogether. In his account of the demonstrations against the Vietnam war, he claims that 'solidarity with each other was as important as solidarity with the Vietnamese guerrillas', conveniently ignoring the demonstrators who found themselves in the hands of the authorities without any proper legal or welfare support from the organisers. 'Tokenism was over,' he claims; no, it was just different. He has completely swallowed the Trotskyist line on the need for a 'Revolutionary Socialist Party'—commenting that 'in essence this new party should be similar to Lenin's Bolshevik Party'—and ends with this appeal: 'Let us sink our sectarian differences and move towards setting up the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition.'

His conclusion is no better. 'The most significant event of the twentieth century has been the seizure of State power in 1917 by the Russian Bolsheviks.' Perhaps,

but not in the way he thinks. The attempted revolution between 1918 and 1921 was a failure of these revolutionaries responsible for the death of the Russian Revolution. Far from the policy of the counter-revolutionaries, precisely the Bolsheviks, which destroyed the revolution and helped to destroy it well. Moving on half a century, that 'Che's departure' is a precedent in history. The leader has left the country of a successful revolution scratch elsewhere.' No, Tom Paine in the eighteenth century, Bolivar in the nineteenth century, that Trotsky was invited many and didn't, but the Bolshevik agents did and tried to sabotage the German movement more successfully later tried in China. Cautious in praising Cuba, wrong to say that 'the freedom', and it is mistaken 'the trade unions are without adding that the main achievements of the revolution he was still a minister in the government. He closes the peroration:

'Those of us who are of today's new revolution, Marxists, but we are not to believe in Leninism, emphasis to be on the rather than "centralism" Guevarist but can analyse the mistakes many are puzzled by the many Left factions countries to devote energy to attacking attacking capitalism revolutionaries fight against the State. WE mean That's pretty good leader who produced Dwarf shouting "DON'T OCCUPY" and then a demonstration away Square so as not to go the authorities. No, buy him off when he says "DON'T DEMAND—A start taking the so-called revolutionaries" seriously when they are either new or the meantime we shall with them for common shall always remember to our predecessors Marxists in Russia, Cuba.

Happening at Caernarvon

PRINCE CHARLES is to be invested as Prince of Wales at Caernarvon in July. Needless to say this event has hardly stirred the people of Wales into a great ecstasy of joy and their complete disinterest has been apparent from the beginning despite the pathetic attempts of the mass media to build the event up into 'Wales' greatest day of the century'. Nationalist organisations such as the Free Wales Army and the Patriotic Front have denounced the Investiture and threatened violent action against it but most people fail to take them seriously, with their wild claims of underground firing ranges and vast arms dumps hidden in the hills.

If the people of Wales aren't unduly bothered, however, the State certainly is. Although its existence is not threatened

dignity is, and the State is willing to make other people pay a great price to preserve its own dignity. The actual 'ceremony' at Caernarvon alone will cost £200,000 with all the usual nonsensical ritual and panoply associated with such 'royal' occasions. On duty at Caernarvon will be thousands of uniformed and plain-clothes police together with detachments of armed troops.

For several months Caernarvon Castle has been under continual police observation in case any patriotic Welshman should decide to plant a bomb to blow up his beloved prince. Aberystwyth, where the Prince is to attend the University for six weeks, is already crawling with police, and six hundred will be in residence there during the period of his stay. At least six

THE ESSENTIAL A. S. NEILL

SUMMERHILL, by A. S. Neill, with a preface by Erich Fromm. Gollancz, 50/-. The same, but with a preface by Neill himself. Pelican, 7/-.

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If the people of Wales aren’t unduly bothered, however, the State certainly is. Although its existence is not threatened by the attacks on the Investiture, its

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For several months Caernarvon Castle has been under continual police observation in case any patriotic Welshman should decide to plant a bomb to blow up his beloved prince. Aberystwyth, where the Prince is to attend the University for six weeks, is already crawling with police, and six hundred will be in residence there during the period of his stay. At least six police are thought to have registered as students at the University last October so as to keep watch on students ‘who might prove troublesome’. In fact Wales at the moment has all the makings of a police state—plain-clothes police everywhere, phone tapping, continual harassment of known opponents of the Investiture, the arrest and charging of nationalists under the ‘Public Order’ Act by police led by ‘Jock’ Wilson specially imported from Scotland Yard.

Yes, the State is certainly treating the matter seriously, and so too should the people of Wales. A fantastic amount of money is being wasted on all these measures. There are many areas in Wales where housing conditions are deplorable, where unemployment is way above the national average, and where real poverty still exists yet the State chooses to ignore all these needs and to fritter away hundreds of thousands of pounds on this expensive and meaningless ritual.

As anarchists we must point out the idiocy of such actions to as many people as possible. At the same time we must distinguish our protests from those of the nationalists whose only real grievance is that an English Prince is being imposed on them, and who would not object at all if they could have a genuine Welsh Prince of their own in their own Welsh state, even though the same amount of money might be uselessly frittered away. We must expose the sham of a parasitic and expensive monarchy being forced on people by all the apparatus of a police state and at the same time point the way to real freedom and not to a freedom, based on nationhood, which will once again prove illusory.

ISWYLYN AP GRIFFITHS.

THE ESSENTIAL A. S. NEILL

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THIS BOOK is composed of extracts taken from four of Neill’s later books, covering all the major topics of his work. To those who have read Neill’s books over the years (I think I must have read all of them, or very nearly, even the earliest), there is nothing particularly new, but how useful it is to have the essence of a man’s ideas in one handy volume! For those who are coming in increasing numbers to radical and libertarian ideas for the first time, it will be a most useful introduction.

In his preface Neill says that his ideas have changed little since he wrote *That Dreadful School* in 1936, except in the matter of psychology. When he began his free school, in a house called ‘Summerhill’ near Lyme Regis, he was sent pupils who were often ‘problem children’. These he tried to ‘cure’ by analysis, but he found that those who did not come to his psychoanalytical sessions got better as quickly as those who did. He came to the conclusion that freedom, not analysis, was the cure.

‘I am groping,’ he writes, ‘I try in vain to understand why mankind does so much evil. I cannot believe that evil is inborn, that there is original sin. I have seen too many hateful kids become good kids under freedom and adult approval. But then why does an originally good humanity make a sick and unjust and cruel world? I know from experience that children brought up with self-government and freedom will never hate Jews or negroes; they will not beat their children nor make them guilty about sex; they will never frighten their children with tales of a punishing God. I hasten to add that other schoolmasters could make similar claims. I ask myself the question: If Summerhill can produce people who are not inclined to hate and cruelty and war and prejudice, why cannot the whole world have schools that have like results? Two thousand years

ago the people chose crucified Christ. They had the same choice. Why . . . Thwart love and why we thwart love w Yet is it necessary tha . . . Complexes are continuous process of hood. In its problem crooks went out cured ing discovered the ro sion to steal. . . .’

We are today in biologists were in bef were theories, all mor about the origin of t of plants and animals really say anything th it is with social ev there is an even mor gical block to be ov was in the case of b The man who event origin of the state, authoritarianism, etc. Darwin. In the mean sible to bring childr successfully.

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One can only hope t the widest possible ci

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Finally we come to Tariq Ali himself. Apart from the preface, he contributes a chapter on 'The Extra-Parliamentary Opposition' and a conclusion on 'The Age of Permanent Revolution'. Both are deeply disappointing, and it is hard to believe they are written by someone who studied politics at Oxford. In his account of the anti-war movement he distorts its history by leaving out the work of the direct action and civil disobedience organisations altogether. In his account of the demonstrations against the Vietnam war, he claims that 'solidarity with each other was as important as solidarity with the Vietnamese guerrillas', conveniently ignoring the demonstrators who found themselves in the hands of the authorities without any proper legal or welfare support from the organisers. 'Tokenism was over,' he claims; no, it was just different. He has completely swallowed the Trotskyist line on the need for a 'Revolutionary Socialist Party'—commenting that 'in essence this new party should be similar to Lenin's Bolshevik Party'—and ends with this appeal: 'Let us sink our sectarian differences and move towards setting up the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition.'

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but not in the way he thinks. He describes the attempted revolutions outside Russia between 1918 and 1921, and adds: 'The failure of these revolutions was largely responsible for the degeneration of the Russian Revolution. From that point onwards the policy of the Soviet Union became counter-revolutionary.' No, it was precisely the Bolshevik seizure of power which destroyed the Russian Revolution and helped to destroy the other ones as well. Moving on half a century, he states that 'Che's departure from Cuba has no precedent in history. No revolutionary leader has left the comparative comfort of a successful revolution to start from scratch elsewhere.' No? What about Tom Paine in the eighteenth century, or Bolivar in the nineteenth? He mentions that Trotsky was invited to go to Germany and didn't, but not that many Bolshevik agents did and that they managed to sabotage the German revolutionary movement more successfully than they later tried in China. He is properly cautious in praising Cuba, but he is quite wrong to say that 'there is total cultural freedom', and it is misleading to say that 'the trade unions are too bureaucratised' without adding that this was one of the main achievements of good old Che when he was still a minister in Castro's government. He closes the book with a fine peroration:

'Those of us who form the hard core of today's new revolutionaries are still Marxists, but we abhor Stalinism; we believe in Leninism but prefer the emphasis to be upon "democracy" rather than "centralism"; we are Guevarist but can appreciate and analyse the mistakes made by Che. We are puzzled by the tendency among many Left factions in the developed countries to devote as much time and energy to attacking each other as to attacking capitalism. The new revolutionaries fight against sectarian tendencies. And what is most important of all, we are not to be bought off by the State. WE mean business.'

That's pretty good coming from a leader who produced an issue of *Black Dwarf* shouting 'DON'T DEMAND—OCCUPY' and then a fortnight later led a demonstration away from Grosvenor Square so as not to get in trouble with the authorities. No need for the State to buy him off when he can be scared off: 'DON'T DEMAND—AGREE'. We shall start taking the so-called 'new revolutionaries' seriously when they show that they are either new or revolutionary. In the meantime we shall of course work with them for common causes, but we shall always remember what happened to our predecessors who worked with Marxists in Russia, Spain, China, and Cuba.

N.W.

THE ESSENTIAL A. S. NEILL

SUMMERHILL, by A. S. Neill, with a preface by Erich Fromm. Gollancz, 50/-. The same, but with a preface by Neill himself. Pelican, 7/-.

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FIFTH COLUMN

Personal Freedom

THE PROBLEM of direct action for personal freedom is that most people most of the time are threatened rather than attacked. The idea of acting in self-defence is more likely to occur to those actually under arrest than hash smokers listening happily to Otis Redding. And more people smoke than get arrested. And anyway when you *do* get arrested you tend not to want any more trouble.

On the way back from delivering my column last Monday I had a glimpse of this. I was in the Tube without a ticket. As I came to the barrier, said 'Aldgate East' and gave the man 1s. 6d., he stopped me. 'Prove it,' he said politely. So I whipped out a copy of FREEDOM and showed him the address. 'I've been there delivering an article'—and I had a copy of *that* too. But it wasn't necessary: one look at FREEDOM and he let me past. As I walked away from the Tube I thought: why didn't I refuse to prove it? Why didn't I resist the cross-examination? Simply because my first thought was to get out, escape: regain my immediate personal freedom.

Getting arrested by yourself when you are not expecting it is not the most pleasant thing in the world. Most people who are arrested—for drugs or whatever—are either alone or in small groups. If they were expecting trouble they would presumably move away from it. But in the days of the Committee of 100 demonstrators walked into trouble. Their fear of arrest *when it happened* was reduced by two factors: they were part of a large group and they were prepared to be arrested. More recently there have been hippy scenes in Hyde Park with some people turning on: if thousands went there smoking hash—and if this continued week after week—what would the law do?

Class Struggle

WHAT EXACTLY does Tony Gibson mean by 'class struggle' in his article *Anarchism Today*? He refers to 'the struggle over the division of the national cake between employers and employees' and 'the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat so vividly dramatized by Marx'. Anarchism has nothing to do with this class struggle in Tony's opinion: if wages go up the workers have merely gained 'their own extra crumbs from the national cake'.

But he also refers to 'the move towards socialism—or fascism' and 'a new form of class struggle ... between the workers and the state'. Tony seems to imply in this passage that the class struggle he favours can only come about when the state swallows owners and coalesces with managers. Does he really mean the workers can demand control *only* when they are faced with one massive enemy—the state?

Tony would, I feel, be happier confronting a single totalitarian enemy. Anarchism, he says, is not concerned with 'advancing the interests of any one

who must have extreme sectarian attitudes to follow. A Marxist of this kind, and his freedom is welcome. And inexperienced, identify council communist. The Commune as the practice of sense; Marx (and it, but the Communists, it was not usually advocated, recently established. The basic political

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ate is willing to a great price to city. The actual on alone will cost usual nonsensical associated with such city at Caernarvon formed and plain- with detachments

Caernarvon Castle al police observa- riotic Welshman bomb to blow up Merystwyth, where the University for living with police, in residence there stay. At least six have registered as city last October students 'who e'. In fact Wales the makings of a es police every- continual harass- ants of the Investi- rging of national- Order' Act by son specially im- ard.

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THIS BOOK is composed of extracts taken from four of Neill's later books, covering all the major topics of his work. To those who have read Neill's books over the years (I think I must have read all of them, or very nearly, even the earliest), there is nothing particularly new, but how useful it is to have the essence of a man's ideas in one handy volume! For those who are coming in increasing numbers to radical and libertarian ideas for the first time, it will be a most useful introduction.

In his preface Neill says that his ideas have changed little since he wrote *That Dreadful School* in 1936, except in the matter of psychology. When he began his free school, in a house called 'Summerhill' near Lyme Regis, he was sent pupils who were often 'problem children'. These he tried to 'cure' by analysis, but he found that those who did not come to his psychoanalytical sessions got better as quickly as those who did. **He came to the conclusion that freedom, not analysis, was the cure.**

'I am groping,' he writes, 'I try in vain to understand why mankind does so much evil. I cannot believe that evil is inborn, that there is original sin. I have seen too many hateful kids become good kids under freedom and adult approval. But then why does an originally good humanity make a sick and unjust and cruel world? I know from experience that children brought up with self-government and freedom will never hate Jews or negroes; they will not beat their children nor make them guilty about sex; they will never frighten their children with tales of a punishing God. I hasten to add that other schoolmasters could make similar claims. I ask myself the question: If Summerhill can produce people who are not inclined to hate and cruelty and war and prejudice, why cannot the whole world have schools that have like results? Two thousand years

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'... Thwart love and you get hate, but why we thwart love we do not know. ... Yet is it necessary that we know origins? ... Complexes are caused by a long continuous process of repression in childhood. In its problem days Summerhill crooks went out cured without ever having discovered the roots of the compulsion to steal. ...'

We are today in the situation that biologists were in before Darwin. There were theories, all more or less fantastic, about the origin of the different species of plants and animals, but no one could really say anything that was certain. So it is with social evolution, only here there is an even more serious psychological block to be overcome than there was in the case of biological evolution. The man who eventually discovers the origin of the state, repression, war, authoritarianism, etc., will be another Darwin. In the meantime it is still possible to bring children up in freedom successfully.

The book is divided into chapters, which in turn are divided into short sections, 'Summerhill School', 'Child Rearing', 'Sex', 'Religion and Morals', 'Children's Problems', 'Parents' Problems' and finally 'Questions and Answers'. They cover practically everything, coeducation, inspectors' reports, defecation, swearing, sex attitudes, jealousy, love, hate, learning and creativity. Every problem seems to have been thought of.

One can only hope that this volume has the widest possible circulation.

A.W.U.

To a Reader

We have heard through roundabout channels that Nick's and Jim's and Terry's friend who is still inside is getting his copies of *FREEDOM*. We're glad to hear it and hope he is enjoying them.

groups. If they were expecting trouble they would presumably move away from it. But in the days of the Committee of 100 demonstrators walked into trouble. Their fear of arrest when it happened was reduced by two factors: they were part of a large group and they were prepared to be arrested. More recently there have been hippy scenes in Hyde Park with some people turning on: if thousands went there smoking hash—and if this continued week after week—what would the law do?

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Tony would, I feel, be happier confronting a single totalitarian enemy. Anarchism, he says, is not concerned with 'advancing the interests of any one socio-economic class'. He is opposed to prejudice and sentimentality about 'any particular social class'.

I have italicised the two key words: they help to explain Tony's real problem—a confusion between different meanings of 'class'. Towards the end of his article he suddenly uses the phrase *manual workers* instead of proletariat. At last it's clear: Tony would be upset if the manual workers were to take on everybody else. If they did he wouldn't know which side to support. Nor would I. A civil war between manual and other workers would be insane. But that is not what 'class struggle' means to anarchists—or to any Marxist I have ever met.

By class struggle I mean the antagonism between workers and bosses: the conflict between the vast powerless majority of working people—whatever colour collar they wear—and the tiny minority—top civil servants, industrialists, university administrators—who do have power. This minority and the state merge into one another. I agree with Tony that the class struggle can often be seen as a conflict between workers and the state.

Most people see something of this conflict. Everybody gets a glimpse of it when his wages are mentioned. The 'national cake' we hear so much about is not a fixed amount. The real value of what is produced tends to go up; money values tend to go down. If wages and salaries are successfully frozen workers lose both ways: the cake is bigger and their crumbs are worth less.

WYNFORD HICKS.

Anarcho-Syndicalism?

ON TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, television viewers in Czechoslovakia had the forgotten pleasure of seeing the Seventh Czechoslovak Congress in session. The Sixth Congress took place in 1948 which was

Contact Column

This column exists for mutual aid. Donations towards cost of typesetting will be welcome.

Reading Anarchist Group. Meeting 7 p.m. Friday, March 28, Blagrove Arms (opp. Reading Central Control), Blagrove Street, Reading.

S.C.R.E.W. International contact list available and information on critical and agitational activity in Europe. Small donation. 46 Park Crescent, Brighton.

Translators wanted. Italian, Dutch and/or Spanish for proposed monthly. Please contact C. Beadle, c/o Oakwood Farm, Lund, Selby, Yorks. Small fee will be paid.

The Anarchist (Art magazine). All literary contributions welcome. John Fuhr, 878 North Street, Suffield, Conn. (U.S.A.) 06078.

"But Mr. Speaker, it would create ANARCHY" by Jim Huggon. Pamphlet 6d. (11d. including postage), c/o Freedom Press.

Weep In at Hornsey College of Art, Crouch End Hill, N.8. Starts mid-day April 1. Everyone admitted free provided they wear black. Wreaths welcome.

FREEDOM PRESS

NEED volunteers to make racks and other carpentry work in new premises.

NEED comrades to clear dump in Angel Alley (with remuneration)—bring pickaxes and shovels if possible.

Get in touch with Graham Moss c/o Freedom Press.

Leicester Libertarian Education Group. 1 The Crescent, King Street, Leicester. Meetings every Wednesday 8 p.m.

S. London Free School Campaign. Regular activities, projects. Mike Rowley or Roger Sadiev, 81 Ermine Road, S.E.13. 01-690 1572 (6-7 p.m. preferably.)

Easter Rising '69. See you on the Ulster-Dublin March. Ulysses.

Bit Information Service (24 hour).

the culmination of the Communist takeover.

It would appear that the Czech trade union movement no longer accepts the position of being the hatchet man of the Communist Party or their mouthpiece. They wish to play an independent role, and if necessary oppose the policies of the Party and the Government.

The Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia strengthened the ties between workers and students in their defence of reforms. The Czech trade union movement has rediscovered its voice. The demands of Congress centred around two main points:

Freedom for individual state-owned enterprises from ministerial control substituted by management boards mainly selected by the workers. The Czech Government, following the Moscow line, wanted to eliminate such representation, deprive them of power to appoint chief executives. The trade unionists, on the other hand, want elected management committees which can appoint or dismiss the chief executive of the enterprise.

Many trade unions are demanding their right to strike and to have a

legally sanctioned strike fund. On the eve of the Czech Congress, Moscow issued a warning to unnamed trade unions in Socialist countries and accused them of Anarcho-Syndicalism.

Anarcho-Syndicalism is the 'Kiss of Death' for Moscow and the People's Democracies, because it means control and direction from the rank and file. 'Democratic centralism', better known as Communist bureaucracy, operates through the trade unions in Communist countries. They feed the Party line to the workers.

Just recently there has been some ferment from the intellectuals in Russia but, until the workers ferment, the Communist bureaucrats will remain in control. Maybe the Czech trade unionists will start the ferment and maintain it, unlike the workers in East Germany a few years back who were unable to do just that. This also applies to British workers. As J.L. wrote in last week's **FREEDOM**, 'It all depends on whether the workers themselves can seize and keep the initiative.' This is what Anarcho-Syndicalism is all about.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Help the Squatters!

EIGHT FAMILIES are now 'squatting' it out in Ilford; two in Notting Hill; two in Stoke Newington; one in Leyton; two in North Kensington. There are squatters' groups starting up all over London—and indeed all over the country.

VICTORY IN CAMELFORD ROAD

Maggie O'Shannon and her family were the first family to take over a house, 7 Camelford Road, Notting Hill, over two months ago. A few days later they were joined by Jim and Bridie Matthews. Their fight has now been successful and the GLC has given them rent books. Squatting has thus been successful here.

Spurred on by this, the Notting Hill Squatters have installed two more families—in Artesian Road, North Kensington. The house apparently has been empty for nine years. It won't be any longer!

THE CONFRONTATION IN ILFORD

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Alderman H. Cowan, 'Lilliput', 6 Lee Grove, Chigwell, Essex. Phone: 500 5765.

Mayor: Sidney Glead, 14 Hazelbrouck Gardens, Hainault, Ilford, Essex. Phone: 500 0165.

Deputy Mayor: Mrs. Lillian Fallaize, 195 Kingston Road, Ilford, Essex. Phone: 478 0567.

Councillor Mrs. Roberts, 87 Malford Court, The Drive, South Woodford, E.18. Phone: 989 3855.

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Please write to these and tell them not to evict the Beresfords. Please phone them—ANY time, ALL THE TIME. Be polite, but insistent. If you should feel so worried about the Beresfords when

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Bit Information Service (24 hour). 229 8219, 141 Westbourne Park Road, W.11.

Anarchist Black Cross No. 3 now ready. 6d. plus postage. New address: 735 Fulham Road, S.W.6.

Let May Day be resistance day! Meeting Tower Hill, 11.30 a.m., **May 1.** Then march to Victoria Park (Bethnal Green) and join in the **May Day Festival.** Music, dancing, games, plays, refreshments.

N.W. Federation Whitsun Camp, Llangollen. Anyone interested? Contact Ron Marsden, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 19.

International Summer Camp. £1 booking fees to Ann Lindsay, 39 Upper Tulse Hill, London, S.W.2.

North London Free Schools Campaign, contact T. Swash, 49 Popham Road, London, N.1.

Anarchist May 2 Ball at Shoreditch Town Hall. Groups include 'The Deviants', 'Blonde on Blonde' and 'Dr. K's Blues Band'. Tickets now available. £1 double, 12/6 single. Licensed bar (extension applied for). Please get your tickets early from Digger, c/o Freedom Press.

Help Increase 'Freedom's' Circulation. Are you willing to take 'Freedom' and 'Anarchy' regularly to local newsagents and collect returns and cash? If so we'd like to hear from you. — CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT.

Badges and Banners. Rectangular metal black/red badges 2/6 each post free or bulk rate (10 or more) 1/- each—resell at 2/- or 2/6. Also flags and banners to order, from 7/6. McGee, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camberne, Cornwall.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

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THE CONFRONTATION IN ILFORD

Sooner or later the 'crunch' had to come—and it came in Ilford, and mainly over the house occupied by Margaret and Ben Beresford and their seven children. This is 43 Cleveland Road, a house owned by the London Borough of Redbridge which had been empty for a year before the Beresfords moved in, and which the Council plan to knock down to extend their car park.

High Court injunctions have failed to remove the squatters, and the Council have really scraped the bottom of the barrel in an effort to get the Beresfords out. But an attempt to get the Barking Magistrates to order 're-seizure' of the property under the Forcible Entry Acts of 1391 and 1429 also failed. And an attempt to get the High Court to order the Magistrates to do this has also failed.

In fact counsel for the Beresfords, Victor Levine, spoke so well in the High Court, that Lord Chief Justice Parker should have thrown the Redbridge Council application out of the bloody window. Realizing that this would be too much of a victory for 'those terrible squatters' Lord Chief Justice Parker forgot about the law, forgot about justice and refused to make a ruling at all.

This is still a victory however, and the Council are now having to apply for possession through the County Court.

HOW YOU CAN HELP

Please support the Beresfords in Court, at Ilford County Court, corner Ilford High Road/Buckingham Road, Wednesday, April 2, 10 a.m. Let's make this a hearing worth remembering. All invited.

However we should also persuade Redbridge Council not to pursue the matter. The following officials are the ones who should be asked to let the Beresfords stay:

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Mayor: Sidney Gleed, 14 Hazelbrouck Gardens, Hainault, Ilford, Essex. Phone: 500 0165.

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Also, if you should ever like to talk to them, please don't hesitate to visit them. They are very concerned about the homeless and will probably invite you in for tea, any time of the day or night.

Please do contact these people—just in case they forget about the Beresfords.

SPONTANEOUS SQUATTING

Yes—it is spreading. Two families are now squatting in Stoke Newington, and one in Leyton. These squats occurred without any squatters' group being involved. The families just occupied some empty houses. This movement is going to succeed, but to do so it depends on everyone reading this!

PETER DEACON.

Read Carefully

Dear All,

I normally believe that there must be a lot to be said in favour of anyone Tony Gibson condemns but even he cannot convince me that VSC are in any sense socialist.

It's a pity that Gibson does not read **FREEDOM** carefully enough to know that Ian Sutherland wrote a very good comment on the VSC and Maoist leaders before the last big demo and that, even though it flopped and went awry, there was a concerted attempt by Libertarians to maintain an independent presence at that demo.

Croydon

LAURENS OTTER.

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has rediscovered its
ands of Congress
two main points:
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rike and to have a

legally sanctioned strike fund. On the eve of the Czech Congress, Moscow issued a warning to unnamed trade unions in Socialist countries and accused them of Anarcho-Syndicalism.

Anarcho-Syndicalism is the 'Kiss of Death' for Moscow and the People's Democracies, because it means control and direction from the rank and file. 'Democratic centralism', better known as Communist bureaucracy, operates through the trade unions in Communist countries. They feed the Party line to the workers.

Just recently there has been some ferment from the intellectuals in Russia but, until the workers ferment, the Communist bureaucrats will remain in control. Maybe the Czech trade unionists will start the ferment and maintain it, unlike the workers in East Germany a few years back who were unable to do just that. This also applies to British workers. As J.L. wrote in last week's FREEDOM, 'It all depends on whether the workers themselves can seize and keep the initiative.' This is what Anarcho-Syndicalism is all about.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

the Squatters!

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MELFORD ROAD
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A few days later they
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ATION

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Mayor: Sidney Gleed, 14 Hazelbrouck Gardens, Hainault, Ilford, Essex. Phone: 500 0165.

Deputy Mayor: Mrs. Lillian Fallaize, 195 Kingston Road, Ilford, Essex. Phone: 478 0567.

Councillor Mrs. Roberts, 87 Malford Court, The Drive, South Woodford, E.18. Phone: 989 3855.

Housing Manager: David Perry, 127 Whitehall Road, Woodford Green, Essex. Phone: 504 7402.

Please write to these and tell them not to evict the Beresfords. Please phone them—ANY time, ALL THE TIME. Be polite, but insistent. If you should feel so worried about the Beresfords when

Freedom For Workers' Control

MARCH 22 1969 Vol 30 No 9

THE HOLLOW MEN

BEFORE WE ENTERED the union committee room we knew that the week-end strike action by a large section of London's busmen was already doomed. Here, within the Thames-side meeting hall we had assembled, and the union members packed every corner of the room to argue and discuss a *fait accompli* for the ritual of office must be observed and our surrender must be cloaked in the dignity of fearless and rational discussion before the mass raising of hands gave a visible signature to what was no more than an abortive revolt by a strong minority of militants.

The issue was a simple one of continuing physical assaults on bus crews and, led by the men and women of the Riverside bus garage, bus crews from a number of London garages ran their buses into the garage at nine or ten at week-end evenings until London Transport and the police could guarantee that the bus workers would not suffer physical violence. The harsh and brutal truth of this matter is that no person or authority can guarantee this, for violence is but part of the hour and the temper of the time, and all that the bus workers could ask for would be sufficient unformed support to scare off the thugs, the vicious drunks and the gangs of teenage yobs. We knew and know that the London Transport would not provide this support.

We made our protest by running our buses back into the garages and for the first time a large group of militant workers found that they had the employers, the authorities and the press on the defensive for, with one conductor lying dead and others weekly being beaten up, they could not and dare not condemn us for refusing to work under those conditions. The employers and the Law met and made plans and there was a general nodding of heads and all we had to do was to run our buses into the garages on the week-end evenings.

But always was the shrill whine of

would be used to protect the buses and the busworkers had the final paragraph that read: *In addition to the above, special supervision will be arranged for Monday, 17th March, 1969, St. Patrick's Day covered with a strip of brown sticky paper.*

The resolution was moved that we should return to *normal* working to see if the promised protection would be given us. The arms in support rose upwards and those of us who voted to continue the strike action were less than the fingers of one hand and we who voted to continue the strike action found that we were on the defensive.

For the first time the bus workers had a moral cause to unite them and on their own initiative they took rank and file action. From scattered garages by word of mouth they began to work in co-operation and by this action they could have forced the hand of London Transport regarding their working conditions, but the greed of an equally strong minority defeated them, for behind this greedy minority was the tacit support of the entrenched local union officials ever-ready with vague promises from the employer.

And so we lost and have returned to normal working with the promise that should the violence continue we shall again withdraw our labour but one can hardly visualise London Transport officials running around white-faced with terror over this threat. It is indeed bitter to see such an opportunity deliberately wasted and to watch men one privately and publicly despises forcing defeat on to their fellow workers but it has happened and is now a fact of industrial history. T. S. Elliot wrote the epitaph and the epilogue for this abortive revolt by a large section of the London busworkers in his poem *The Hollow Men*, that 'This is the way the world ends. Not with a bang but a whimper' but not for those who are prepared to fight again. The Hollow Men have won a small victory in defence of their dirty shillings but we shall fight again.

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their seven children.
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having to apply for
h the County Court.

LEGAL HELP
the Beresfords in Court.
Court, corner Ilford
ingham Road, Wednes-
a.m. Let's make this a
remembering. All invited.
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you're in bed one night, then don't hesi-
tate to phone these people: they are
public-spirited and will not mind at all—
you could even reverse the charges. Say
you're from the squatters and I am sure
they will accept them.

Also, if you should ever like to talk
to them, please don't hesitate to visit
them. They are very concerned about the
homeless and will probably invite you in
for tea, any time of the day or night.

Please do contact these people—just in
case they forget about the Beresfords.

SPONTANEOUS SQUATTING

Yes—it is spreading. Two families are
now squatting in Stoke Newington, and
one in Leyton. These squats occurred
without any squatters' group being in-
volved. The families just occupied some
empty houses. This movement is going
to succeed, but to do so it depends on
everyone reading this!

PETER DEACON.

Read Carefully

Dear All,

I normally believe that there must be
a lot to be said in favour of anyone Tony
Gibson condemns but even he cannot
convince me that VSC are in any sense
socialist.

It's a pity that Gibson does not read
FREEDOM carefully enough to know that
Ian Sutherland wrote a very good com-
ment on the VSC and Maoist leaders be-
fore the last big demo and that, even
though it flopped and went awry, there
was a concerted attempt by Libertarians
to maintain an independent presence at
that demo.

Croydon

LAURENS OTTER.

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and the Law met and made plans and
there was a general nodding of heads
and all we had to do was to run our
buses into the garages on the week-end
evenings.

But always was the shrill whine of
the Overtime Kings being heard as
they worked out their loss in pay
for this action that had been forced
upon them. A few had the courage to
scab but the rest gathered their support
and on the day of the special meeting
to decide action for the following week
they were there in full force.

There they were within that packed
union room ready and eager for the
resolution to be put that would end
this small cut in their sweaty wage
packet and, drawing confidence from
each other, they rose and spoke and
demanded a return to normality. Even
the scabs made passionate speeches to
each other and one sat and listened
to accusations slung across the floor of
who had been the greater rat and always
the whimper and the whine of lost wages
dominated the meeting. That they should
be paid their lost wages out of the
busmen's voluntary collection fund, that
men and women not affected should
be made to pay towards this loss of a few
shillings, marked the indignity of this
meeting for the speakers knew that they
now controlled the situation and they
were publicly prepared to eat shit rather
than continue the strike.

But tragedy turned to farce when a
union member cried that the Irish were
being held responsible for starting and
finishing public brawls and there were
threats that the matter should be taken
to the Race Relations Board unless the
fighting Irish were not accused of
fighting. Comedy won the day and
the Chair and the Committee solemnly
promised that this matter would be
raised with the London Transport and
it was, for on that same day the
duplicated sheet posted within the garage
that gave details of the measures that

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ARTHUR MOYSE.

The Barlow-Carver Defence Committee

A defence committee has been formed
to help Alan Barlow and Phil Carver. We
ask comrades to help in whatever way
they can, especially financially, by collec-
tions, socials, etc.

Whilst they are on remand a rota
system has been worked out for visiting
and it is now complete.

Long live liberty!

Friends of Barlow and Carver,
c/o 84a Whitechapel High St.,
E.1.

In Next Issue ?

As we go to press, the Ford motor
company, the unions and the Govern-
ment are working out a face-saving
formula to end the dispute. In the next
issue of FREEDOM we will be printing
an article. We believe that valuable
lessons can be learnt from it.

Royal Welcome ?

There are only six weeks left to prepare
plans to greet Princess Margaret, who
will be opening the Notting Hill Housing
Trust's new block of flats and offices in
All Saints' Road.—From *People's News*,
60 St. Ervans Road, London, W.10.